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Turks through the Lens of Hemingway: A Critical Discourse Analysis of War Dispatches

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ABSTRACT
This paper investigates the journalistic writings of Ernest Hemingway, specifically twenty articles written for *The Toronto Daily Star* between 1922 and 1923, focusing on the aftermath of the Turkish War of Independence and the geopolitical climate preceding the Treaty of Lausanne. Utilising Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, the study examines how Hemingway linguistically and discursively constructed the image of Turks, the Turkish National Movement, and Mustapha Kemal Pasha within the context of the era's pervasive anti-Turkish propaganda. The analysis reveals that while Hemingway employed a realist style, his dispatches often reproduced Orientalist stereotypes, framing the conflict through a binary of "Christian victimhood" versus "Eastern fanaticism." Quantitative findings indicate a significant discursive strategy of delegitimisation, evidenced by the frequent use of the bare secondary "Kemal" (n=76) instead of his official title and name "Mustapha Kemal Pasha," and the association of Turkish forces with terms like "bandit" and "holy war." The study concludes that Hemingway's journalism served to reinforce Western hegemonic narratives, positioning the Turkish struggle not as a war for sovereignty but as a threat to Western order.

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Introduction

Discourse is a critical concept across fields such as linguistics, sociology, and communication because it examines how language is used in social settings to establish meaning and identity. It refers to both verbal and written language, which is influenced by and, in turn, influences social practices (Gee, 2010, p. 30). Foucault proposed that discourse is composed of systems of thought that construct subjects and realities, and the approach to critical discourse analysis focuses on the non-neutral nature of language in the creation of knowledge and power structures, including micro-linguistic, interactional, and macro-social approaches to discourse (Foucault, 2010, p. 237). Consequently, this necessitates a critical approach in textual analysis that transcends linguistic boundaries to scrutinise social contexts and underlying power dynamics

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and especially the approach of Fairclough, explores the role of language as a reflective and influential factor in the creation of knowledge and power relations. Fairclough's model is based on dialectical-relational analysis, historical background, and social reaction. It starts with the textual analysis and proceeds to discursive practices and social practices. His analyses of political speeches, including those of Margaret Thatcher, demonstrate the influence of metaphors on policies and their impact on the masses (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 134-136). This framework has been useful in many areas, revealing ideological impact and helping shape identities (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 27). Discourse is not just communication

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but a social practice that institutionalises certain forms, often disadvantaging others. It is an inclusive and exclusive process that determines who has a voice. While Fairclough's CDA is praised for linking linguistic detail to socio-cultural critique, it faces criticism for complexity and bias. Nonetheless, it remains vital in critical research (Widdowson, 1998, pp. 144-147; Fairclough, 2003, pp. 127-128). Fairclough's framework offers tools to analyze how Hemingway's war dispatches function as a discursive space where the Turkish struggle is reinterpreted within Western ideological boundaries.

Mass media is a very important instrument for information dissemination; therefore, it not only reflects reality but also shapes and influences people's perceptions. Van Dijk also argues that news media create reality by selective framing (Van Dijk, 1996, pp. 28-29). Fairclough also adds that media discourse can either support or undermine ideological structures, depending on the media's editorial position and its readiness to accommodate various viewpoints (Fairclough, 1995b, pp. 100-103).

Newspapers have long acted as gatekeepers, shaping national identity through headlines and editorials (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). Despite social media's rise, traditional newspapers retain influence due to perceived credibility (Couldry, 2012). They shape discourse and are often tools of propaganda, exemplified by Pravda and the Volkischer Beobachter propagating state narratives (Taylor, 2003; Hale, 1973). The Daily Mail's positive portrayal of fascists influenced British opinion, while U.S. newspapers faced criticism for Cold War bias (Street, 2011). Today, outlets like Fox News and state media in Russia and China spread divisive narratives and propaganda (Freedman, 2014). Hemingway's reports for the Toronto Daily Star also served as a strategic gatekeeping tool aligning with Western ideology in the 1920s.

During the early 1920s, The Toronto Daily Star was one of North America's most influential newspapers, known for its "on-the-spot" foreign coverage. Led by Joseph E. "Holy Joe" Atkinson, it became a hub of progressive journalism focused on social reform and the "common man." According to Honderich (2013), the paper's editorial stance was rooted in social conscience, which Hemingway both adhered to and challenged through stylistic innovation. White (1985) notes that Hemingway, as the first European correspondent, used the Star as a "laboratory" for his prose, bridging hard news and fiction. His work marks a shift from aesthetic experimentation to politically engaged journalism, aligning his war dispatches with Western ideological frameworks of the 1920s. The Turkish War of Independence was also marked by a negative depiction of the Turks in the Western news outlets, who were portrayed as violent and aggressive towards the Christians (Yildirim, 2006, pp. 70-73). Publications like The Times and The Daily Telegraph focused on alleged atrocities and often ignored Turkish casualties (Ürer & Kutlu, 2023, pp. 85-86). This biased reporting was in line with geopolitical interests, leading to a skewed interpretation of the era and its effects on international perceptions of the Turkish nationalist movement.

The adverse image of Turks as the victims of atrocities was formed due to the numerous events of the war, which had a significant impact on the attitude of people and the further development of relations in the post-war period. During the pre- and post-treaty periods of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, the Allied powers exerted pressure on Istanbul's sovereignty through the local Christian communities, especially the Greeks and Armenians. These Christian minorities were portrayed as victims who required protection by the Allies and, at the same time, were used as a political tool to legitimise their foreign presence in the region (Sonyel, 1985, pp. 661-662). British encouragement of Greek ambitions, such as the Megali Idea, was also aimed at countering Turkish nationalism. These interventions were seen by nationalist leaders, in particular Mustapha Kemal Pasha, as a direct threat to Turkish sovereignty, and were met with the consolidation of control over key territories, which eventually led to the more favourable Treaty of Lausanne (Gawrych, 2013, p. 209). Consequently, these geopolitical tensions and the strategic portrayal of minorities as "victims" provided the discursive raw material that Hemingway later processed in his dispatches, often mirroring the very same Allied rhetoric of legitimacy and sovereignty.

A good example of this context is the articles Hemingway wrote in the *Toronto Daily Star* following the Greco-Turkish War and the Turkish War of Independence. Although praised as being realistic (Kenne, 2012, pp. 494-504), these dispatches may also demonstrate a certain ideological bias, with the main focus being the suffering of Christian refugees and little information about the Turkish side of the story. Such bias is based on the mainstream Western discourse, which focuses on the Christian victimhood rather than the Turkish, which was a long-standing tradition (Salt, 2003, pp. 23-35; Canefe, 2004, p. 2). The unique prose of Hemingway brings about a clear picture of human suffering—Christians only—without taking into consideration the sufferings of Turkish people, yet runs a risk of obscuring the political facts of the Turkish War of Independence. With these considerations in mind, this study will critically examine the twenty articles by Hemingway in the context of the CDA by Fairclough to understand whether the articles have a biased tone that creates a negative impression of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Turkish army and whether the work of Hemingway might have been in line with the manipulative discourse propagated by the Allied forces on the Treaty of Lausanne.

Existing scholarship on Hemingway's journalism often grapples with the tension between his realist aesthetic and his ideological positioning. Reynolds (1997) emphasises Hemingway's ability to capture the visceral atmosphere of crisis and existential disorientation in post-war Istanbul. Conversely, Kenne (2012) critiques this realism, arguing that Hemingway's focus on Christian suffering often creates a "narrative gap" that prioritises Christian victimhood while marginalising Turkish experiences. Building on these perspectives, Umunç (2005) asserts that Hemingway's portrayals were heavily coloured by imperial discourses and anti-Kemalist sentiments prevalent in the era's Western media.

The originality of this study lies in its systematic methodological approach. While previous scholars have analysed these dispatches through historical or literary lenses, this paper provides a comprehensive Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the articles as a single corpus. With these considerations in mind, this study will critically examine the twenty articles by Hemingway within Fairclough's three-dimensional framework to understand how a biased tone—often mirroring the manipulative discourse propagated by the Allied forces regarding the Treaty of Lausanne—linguistically constructs a negative impression of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Turkish army.

War, Aftermath and Hemingway's Reflections on Türkiye

The Ottoman Empire experienced an existential crisis that was formalised with the Armistice of Mudros of 1918, when the Allies occupied strategic cities such as Istanbul and Izmir without considering the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire (Ertan, 2023, pp. 22-23; Lewis, 1961, p. 247; Arslan, 2023, pp. 42-43, 51). The further Treaty of Sèvres envisioned the partition of lands, which led Turkish nationalism to oppose it (Bozkurt, 2003, pp. 486-487). The occupational nationalist sentiment then arose with the Greek occupation of Izmir in 1919, resulting in a three-year armed conflict under Mustapha Kemal Pasha, culminating in the liberation of Izmir and the Armistice of Mudanya in 1922 (Colakoglu, 2022, p. 111). During this time, Mustapha Kemal Pasha favoured diplomatic means as the primary course to independence and urged military intervention only when political options were no longer possible (Ataturk, 2024, pp. 68-69). Nevertheless, a coherent Western propaganda campaign of portraying Turks as aggressors reduced the impact of this struggle (Liebisch-Gümüş, 2020, pp. 234-241; Bige, 1992, p. 106; Kucuker, 2022, p. 86). After the occupation of Istanbul in 1920, the Allies used discourses of Christian victimhood and religious solidarity to justify their presence and the Greek claims (Bozkurt, 2003, p. 485; Saylan, 2014, pp. 21-23; Okur, 2024, pp. 105-106). The Greek ambitions with the assistance of the Megali Idea and the Church were expressed as a liberation mission, which most of the time was based on unchecked statistics and reports of atrocities (Dakin, 1972, p. 8; Llewellyn Smith, 1973, pp. 1-3, 62, 86; Lewis, 1961, p. 241; Ozsuer, 2025, pp. 76-77; Capa, 2024). Whereas the suffering of the Christian people was publicised by the Western press, the labour atrocities that were perpetrated by the retreating Greek forces against the Turkish

civilians, such as the burning of villages and massacres, received little attention (McCarthy, 1995, pp. 279-280; Naimark, 2001, p. 46; Stone, 2007, p. 66). This biased reporting, supported by powerful anti-Turkish lobbying and sensational reports, created a generalised Turkophobic effect which distorted the truth of interethnic violence in the disintegration of the empire (Gokcen, 2016, pp. 93-94; Tekir, 2019, pp. 36-37; Okur, 2024, pp. 96-97). In this regard, the unchecked reports of atrocities and the "liberation mission" rhetoric associated with the Megali Idea formed the very discursive backdrop that Hemingway encountered—and often replicated—in his dispatches for the Toronto Daily Star, where he struggled to balance his realist style with these prevailing Western narratives.

Ernest Hemingway visited Istanbul as a correspondent of the *Toronto Daily Star* to report on the immediate consequences of the Greco-Turkish War in the fall of 1922. He came at the same time as the Turkish forces had freed Izmir, and Mustapha Kemal Pasha, who had been leading the troops, and this incident led to the mass exodus of Greek and Armenian refugees in Istanbul. According to Reynolds (1997), the dispatches of Hemingway revealed clearly the crisis atmosphere in the city, overcrowded hospitals, make-shift shelters, and the general disorientation of a population on the run (p. 16). These reports not only showed the situation of displaced Christian communities but also illustrated a bigger trend in Western journalism, which had a bias towards Christian victimhood whilst equally ignoring the fact that Turkish civilians were also killed.

Hemingway, although an objective author, was influenced by the political and cultural prejudices of Western media. Scholars like Umunç (2005) note his portrayals are shaped by anti-Kemalist and imperialist narratives that depict Turks as aggressors and Greeks as victims of nationalism. As one of the first American writers to engage with Turkish society, his work shows clear historical, cultural, and religious biases. His portrayal of Turks is ambiguous; he sometimes calls Mustapha Kemal a decent leader but also depicts Turkish characters as suspicious or corrupt, reinforcing Western stereotypes of Eastern immorality.

Orientalism and the Rhetoric of Empire

To critically examine Hemingway's journalistic discourse, it is necessary to situate his texts within the broader historical and theoretical context of Orientalism. In his masterpiece, Edward Said offers readers a perspective that is not merely another European fantasy, but a structured body of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction between the Orient and (in most cases) the Occident (Said, 1978, p. 2). This discourse positions the West as superior, rational, and advanced, and the East as inferior, irrational, and undeveloped. Said (1993) adds in Culture and Imperialism that cultural forms, such as the novel and journalism, are inseparable from the process of imperialism. Authors do not operate in a vacuum; rather, they often unconsciously reproduce a prevalent feeling that supports and justifies imperial dominance (p. 10). In this context, Hemingway's reportage should not be viewed as a neutral observation of the Greco-Turkish War, but rather as a discursive participation in this "structure of feeling," where the Turkish struggle is inevitably interpreted through the established binary of the rational West versus the irrational East.

These Orientalist codes are evident in conflict reporting through certain rhetorical strategies. In The Rhetoric of Empire (1993), David Spurr points out 12 modes of representation that Western journalists employ to control the Other. Of particular interest in the coverage of Hemingway are two of them, namely, "Debasement" and "Negation." Spurr argues that, in many cases of colonial discourse, the non-Western subject is linked to filth, defilement, and chaos, thereby claiming that Western intervention was a civilising imperative (Spurr, 1993, p. 76). Equally, Rana Kabbani (1986) observes that the worldview of the early 20th century was preoccupied with the notion of the fanatic Easterner, where the Orient was inherently violent and irrational (p. 6). In this regard, Spurr's concepts of "Debasement" and "Negation" serve as vital analytical lenses to uncover how Hemingway's choice of vocabulary often strips the Turkish National Movement of its political legitimacy, reducing a struggle for sovereignty to a mere spectacle of 'Eastern' chaos.

The press's ideological square reinforces a binary view, as Van Dijk (1991) describes, with Western media portraying themselves positively and others negatively. The image of Turks in the West has historically oscillated between the "Terror of the World" and the "Sick Man of Europe," both used to legitimize Ottoman sovereignty (Çırakman, 2005; Wheatcroft, 1993). Hemingway's reportage exemplifies this, contrasting the West as protector with Turks as the negative other, thus perpetuating long-standing stereotypes in a modern journalistic context.

The framework's real-life use is seen in reporting the Greco-Turkish War. Justin McCarthy (1995) notes in "Death and Exile" that Western media systematically portrayed Christian Victimhood, highlighting Greek and Armenian suffering while largely ignoring or downplaying the massacre by the Greek army on Turkish Muslim refugees, such as burning villages and killings in Western Anatolia. Hemingway's dispatches reflect this biased environment, where truths were shaped by geopolitical interests.

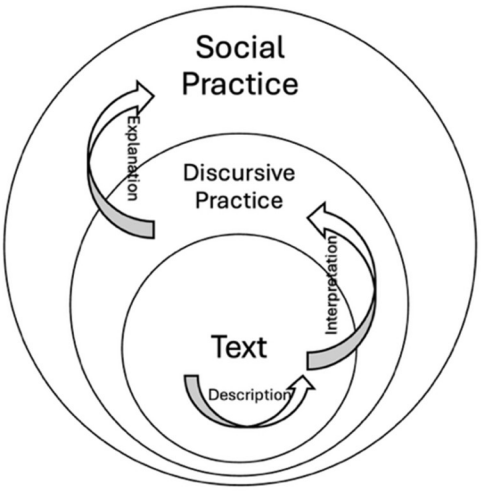


Figure 1 Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model (Created by the Author)

Methodology

This section outlines the research design, materials, and analytical procedures employed in the study. It details the qualitative approach based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and describes the corpus of Hemingway's articles selected for examination. The methodology is predicated on the understanding that discourse is not merely a linguistic representation but a form of social practice that constitutes and is constituted by social relations (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Although the primary approach is qualitative, a supplementary mixed-method strategy is employed. Quantitative frequency analysis of specific keywords (e.g., "Kemal," "Bandit," "Christian") is utilised to support qualitative interpretations with empirical data, thereby providing a more robust evidence base for identifying discursive bias.

Theoretical Framework: Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

Fairclough's model scrutinises discourse across three interrelated dimensions, which serve as the analytical backbone of this study:

Textual Analysis (Micro-Level): This dimension focuses on the linguistic features of the text, such as vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure (Fairclough, 1995a, pp. 57-58). In this study, specific attention is paid to naming strategies, transitivity (agency), and modality (certainty and obligation) to reveal how Hemingway linguistically constructs the actors of the conflict.

Discursive Practice (Meso-Level): This phase examines the production, distribution, and consumption of texts. It investigates "interdiscursivity"- how the text draws upon existing discourses-and how the institutional context of *The Toronto Daily Star* influenced the production of news. This level links the micro-textual features with macro-social structures.

Social Practice (Macro-Level): The final dimension situates the discourse within the broader socio-political context. It analyses how the texts reproduce or challenge hegemonic ideologies, such as Orientalism and Imperialism, and their role in sustaining social hierarchies (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 43). Thus, this dimension serves as a vital tool to reveal how Hemingway's journalism reinforced Western hegemony and Orientalist hierarchies during the Turkish struggle.

The visual representation of how Fairclough's model is applied to the specific context of Hemingway's dispatches is illustrated in Figure 1.

Research Corpus and Procedure

The corpus of this study consists of twenty newspaper articles written by Ernest Hemingway for The Toronto Daily Star between September 1922 and November 1922. These articles, collected in the anthology Dateline: Toronto (Hemingway, 1985, pp. 211-252), cover the critical period spanning the final phase of the Turkish War of Independence, the Armistice of Mudanya, and the immediate aftermath. The selected texts provide direct insight into how Hemingway constructed narratives around key figures, particularly Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and geopolitical events.

Table 1 List of Hemingway's Articles on the Turkish War of Independence (1922)

No	Title of the Article	Date
1	British Can Save Constantinople	30.09.1922
2	British Planes	30.09.1922
3	British Order Kemal to Quit Chanak	30.09.1922
4	Harington Won't Demand Evacuation	02.10.1922
5	Turk Red Crescent Propaganda Agency	04.10.1922
6	Hamid Bey	09.10.1922
7	Turks Near Constantinople	09.10.1922
8	Balkans: A Picture of Peace, Not War	16.10.1922
9	Christians Leave Thrace to Turks	16.10.1922
10	Constantinople, Dirty White, Not Glistening and Sinister	18.10.1922
11	Waiting for an Orgy	19.10.1922
12	A Silent, Ghastly Procession	20.10.1922
13	Russia Spoiling the French Game	23.10.1922
14	Turks Distrust Kemal Pasha	24.10.1922
15	Near East Censor Too «Thorough»	25.10.1922
16	"Old Constan"	28.10.1922
17	Afghans: Trouble for Britain	31.10.1922
18	The Greek Revolt	03.11.1922
19	Kemal's One Submarine	10.11.1922
20	Refugees From Thrace	14.11.1922

Note Adapted from Dateline: Toronto (pp. 211-252), by E. Hemingway, 1985

The analysis followed a systematic procedure aligned with Fairclough's model. First, a manual close reading was conducted to identify recurring themes, rhetorical framing, and tone. Second, a quantitative word-frequency analysis was performed to assess the prevalence of ideologically charged terms. Finally, these findings were interpreted through the lens of social practice, specifically examining how the texts aligned with the broader Orientalist discourse of the era (Fairclough, 1995a, pp. 60-62). By integrating these micro-linguistic data with macro-social structures, the study aims to move beyond a mere stylistic evaluation of Hemingway's prose, revealing instead the underlying ideological mechanisms that shaped his portrayal of the Turkish struggle.

Findings and Discussion

This section presents a critical discourse analysis of Hemingway's twenty articles, examining how the Turkish National Struggle, its leadership, and the post-war geopolitical landscape were linguistically and discursively constructed. To provide a comprehensive and holistic examination

of Hemingway's dispatches as requested by the scholarly feedback, the analysis is organised around four recurring themes that emerged organically through a systematic review of the corpus. These themes—the construction of the "British Saviour," the rhetoric of Christian victimhood, the Orientalist debasement of Istanbul, and the strategic delegitimisation of Turkish leadership—reveal how Hemingway's stylistic choices and selective framing functioned as a cohesive discursive project. By categorising the findings into these key areas, the study moves beyond isolated examples to demonstrate how the corpus collectively reinforced Western hegemonic narratives during the post-WWI era.

When the study's corpus is analysed in detail, it becomes clear that articles such as "British Can Save Constantinople" and "British Planes" emphasise British forces as stabilising agents, portraying intervention as essential to prevent a "Kemalist invasion." Hemingway reinforces this narrative by linking British military presence directly to the "civilising" influence on local populations and the emotional security of Christians. He notes that the arrival of "British troops has encouraged the Greeks and the Armenians here to discard their Turkish fezzes and resume conventional western headgear" (p. 216), thereby framing Western fashion and military occupation as intertwined symbols of liberation. Furthermore, he justifies the continued presence of the Allied forces by stating that "the continued arrival of British war units has lessened the danger of an uprising within the city and checked the panicky flight of Christians to neighbo*u*ring countries" (p. 216). This language effectively transforms a military occupation into a humanitarian necessity, reinforcing the Orientalist binary of the rational Western protector versus the chaotic Eastern threat.

Furthermore, dispatches such as "Turk Red Crescent Propaganda Agency" and "Hamid Bey" portray Turkish actions as strategic yet manipulative. In "Hamid Bey," Hemingway recasts the secular leadership as a religious threat, asserting that "he is regarded as a new Saladin by the Muslim world" and framing the movement as "the blaze that will start the holy war." As Turkish forces advanced, articles such as "Turks Near Constantinople" highlighted tension and legitimised British presence, while "Christians Leave Thrace to Turks" and "A Silent, Ghastly Procession" use emotive language to frame Christian suffering. In the latter, Hemingway dehumanises the tragedy, noting, "It is a silent, ghastly procession. . . They were staggering along the road, like cattle, away from an unknown threatening presence." This selective framing effectively constructs a moral hierarchy that prioritises Western/Christian victimhood while systematically obscuring the political legitimacy and human suffering of the Turkish side.

In contrast, pieces such as "Constantinople, Dirty White, Not Glistening and Sinister" and "Old Constan" use vivid imagery to depict decay and chaos in İstanbul, thereby justifying Western interest and expressing nostalgia for the "Old East." He shatters the city's romantic myth, claiming, "Constantinople is dirty white, not glistening and sinister. It is a squalid, filthy, and sinister place." Meanwhile, "Waiting for an Orgy" and "Refugees from Thrace" emphasise fear and the victimisation of civilians. Hemingway paints a visceral picture of the city "waiting for the entry of the Kemalist army, which is expected to be an "collection of cutthroats, robbers, bandits, thugs and Levantine pirates who have gathered here from Batum to Bagdad" (p. 230).

This strategy of delegitimisation is further evident in "Turks Distrust Kemal Pasha" (October 24, 1922), where the discourse strips the national leader of his statesmanship by reducing him to a transactional figure. Hemingway frames this shift by stating, "this has happened because Kemal, the conquering general, has shown himself to be Kemal the businessman." Instead of a legitimate political leader, he is presented as someone "taking the tangible gains offered him" and "trying to salt down his winnings" through "humiliating compromises" (p. 235). Furthermore, the text promotes internal fractures by claiming that "the East is beginning to distrust him" and that certain circles view the nationalist leaders as "atheists and French Freemasons rather than good Mohammedans" (p. 235). This narrative effectively undermines the movement's sovereign authority by framing it as a precarious, divided entity rather than a unified nation-state in the making.

Table 2 A Condensed Summary of The CDA of the Articles

Article Title	Micro-Level (Linguistic Mechanisms & Keywords)	Meso-Level (Discursive Practice)	Macro-Level (Social Practice)
British Can Save Constantinople	**Transitivity (Agent):** Urgent, heroic; "saviours," "atrocities"	Constructs Britain as a moral authority	Reinforces imperial duty in the post-WWI order
British Planes	**Grammatical Metaphor:** Assertive; "air supremacy," "elite"	Highlights technological leadership	Promotes British exceptionalism
British Order Kemal to Quit	**Modality (Authority):** Forceful; "ultimatum," "no negotiation"	Frames British action as rational	Justifies intervention amid shifting power
Harington Won't Demand Evacuation	**Attributive Process:** Calm, diplomatic; "restraint"	Diplomacy is preferred over force	Emphasises peacekeeping role
Turk Red Crescent Propaganda	**Nominalization:** Sceptical; "manipulative," "agenda"	Frames Turkish aid as deceptive	Expresses Western distrust of nationalism
Hamid Bey	**Modality (Irony):** Satirical; ironic contrasts	Mocks leadership, reveals hypocrisy	Highlights instability during transition
Christians Leave Thrace	**Nominalization:** Mournful; "tragedy," "refugees"	Evokes sympathy for Christians	Reflects ethnic conflict and forced migration
Constantinople, Sinister	**Attributive Process:** Disillusioned; "filthy," "sinister"	Challenges idealised image of Istanbul	Reveals urban decay post-Empire
Waiting for an Orgy	**Nominalization:** Violent, tense; "riotous," "orgy"	Frames the Kemalist entry as chaotic	Stokes fear of instability under a new regime
A Silent, Ghastly Procession	**Grammatical Metaphor:** Haunting; "silent," "ghastly"	Invokes collective grief	Symbolises trauma and aftermath
Russia Spoiling the French Game	**Transitivity (Goal):** Strategic; "spoiling," "influence"	Portrays diplomacy as a power contest	Reflects postwar geopolitical rivalry
Turks Distrust Kemal Pasha	**Modality (Epistemic):** Wary; "distrust," **"division"**	Highlights internal fractures	Struggles of early Turkish leadership
Near East Censor Too 'Through"	**Attributive Process:** Critical; "censorship," "thorough"	Frames censorship as oppressive	Critique of authoritarian control
Old Constan	**Modality (Nostalgia):** Nostalgic; "Old," "loss"	Romanticises Ottoman past	Resists modernisation, favours old order
Afghans: Trouble for Britain	**Transitivity (Agent):** Alarmist; "instability," "threat"	Frames Afghanistan as a liability	Shows British imperial anxiety
The Greek Revolt	**Transitivity:** Combative; "revolt," "oppression"	Supports justified resistance	Uplifts national autonomy narratives
Kemal's One Submarine	**Modality (Irony):** Ironic; "one submarine"	Undermines victory via scarcity	Exposes fragility behind triumph
Refugees from Thrace	**Nominalization:** Emotional; "desperate," "flight"	Humanizes displaced populations	Highlights humanitarian crisis

Note Adapted from The Toronto Daily Star (1922), the analysis shows how ideological bias is embedded through linguistic features: transitivity assigns agency to Western actors, nominalisation naturalises crises and hides political causes, and modality (epistemic and ironic) presents subjective views as facts. This link between language and framing reveals that Hemingway's "realist" tone supports imperial hegemony.

The systematic update of the textual analysis reveals how ideological bias is grammatically encoded through specific linguistic features across the corpus. At the level of transitivity, articles such as "British Can Save Constantinople" consistently position British forces as the Agent in

material processes of protection, whereas local populations are cast as passive recipients. In "British Planes," Hemingway employs grammatical metaphors in which technological dominance serves as "moral evidence" of Western preparedness, effectively equating military surveillance with stabilising authority. Furthermore, the use of nominalisation in dispatches such as "Christians Leave Thrace" transforms politically driven displacement into abstract, naturalised events such as an "exodus" or a "tragedy," thereby obscuring historical causality and the agency of those responsible. Finally, the strategic use of epistemic modality is evident in "Turks Distrust Kemal Pasha," where Hemingway utilises reported speech and gossip to present subjective claims about internal fractures as objective, authoritative truths. By shifting from mere description to these specific linguistic mechanisms, the discourse frames the imperial intervention not as a choice but as a rational and ethical necessity.

Constructing the "British Saviour": Legitimising "Imperial Intervention"

The examination of the corpus shows that Hemingway strategically constructs the British military occupation not as an occupation but as a stabilising solution to the messiness of the Near East. The title itself, "British Can Save Constantinople" (September 30, 1922), casts the British Empire in a heroic role. Beyond mere military efficiency, Hemingway elevates the British presence to a level of global moral responsibility. He explicitly frames the occupation not as a strategic manoeuvre but as a selfless service, asserting that "British troops have now arrived in sufficient numbers to prevent any Kemalist invasion." Through this narrative, the British Empire is rhetorically transformed from a colonial occupier into the sole guardian of international stability, effectively delegitimising any local resistance as a threat to global peace.

In the prism of Fairclough's discursive practice, this article justifies the occupation as a humanitarian need, supporting a post-WWI geopolitical status in which the Western powers are positioned as the reasonable adjudicators. This approach builds upon the historical contexts noted by Reynolds (1997) but moves beyond biographical observation to deconstruct how these texts function as a discursive site for imperial legitimisation. In the same way, the hierarchy is supported in "British Planes" (September 30, 1922), which is centred on technological superiority. The careful use of terms such as "dominance" and "air supremacy" emphasises the British military advantage, while the tone remains confident and assertive. Hemingway suggests a cause-and-effect relationship in which the presence of the British increases the morale of the local Christians:

> British airplanes flew over the capital today, causing a flurry of excitement in Stamboul. The aerial maneuvers gave the population another evidence of Great Britain's preparedness to meet eventualities. The continued arrival of British war units has lessened the danger of an uprising within the city and checked the panicky flight of Christians to neighboring countries. (p. 216)

In this passage, Hemingway linguistically transforms military surveillance into a humanitarian necessity, framing the technological dominance of the British air force as a stabilizing moral authority that secures the city against the perceived irrationality of local unrest. This narrative reinforces the Orientalist binary of Western technological order versus Eastern chaotic potential, effectively legitimising the occupation as an ethical safeguard for the Christian population.

This story of Western control of reason and Eastern control of irrationality is further developed in "British Order Kemal to Quit Chanak" (September 30, 1922). The use of authoritative language includes "order," "ultimatum," and "no negotiation," positioning the British demands as the application of international law. On the other hand, Mustapha Kemal Pasha's denial is framed as hostility, as Hemingway observes that "Kemal's note was considered decidedly hostile" and that "an ultimatum was issued with no room for negotiation." In his article, "Harington Won't Demand Evacuation" (October 2, 1922), Hemingway compliments the diversionary nature of British diplomacy and praises the restraint and prudence of General Harington—describing him as "a quiet, modest man who doesn't like to talk about what he is going to do"—as a clear-cut

contrast to the perceived explosiveness of the Turks. The subject, even in dealing with geopolitical enemies, such as in the articles "Russia Spoiling the French Game" (October 23, 1922) and "Afghans: Trouble for Britain" (October 28, 1922), is stability in the empire. The latter employs alarmist prose, framing Afghan nationalism as a "blaze that will start the holy war" and a source of "instability and threat" to define Afghan autonomy. Thus, these sources create a discourse of hegemony in which the British intervention is not described as imperialism but as an ethical necessity. This corresponds to Van Dijk's (1996) idea that people engage in "positive self-presentation," in which the occupying power is rhetorically reformed into the rational protector of order rather than the natural chaos of the East.

The critical discourse analysis of the selected dispatches, structured through Fairclough's (1995a) three-dimensional framework, reveals a systematic construction of power dynamics that reinforces Western imperial hegemony. At the textual level (micro-level), Hemingway's lexical choices—specifically the description of the arrival of "British war units" as a force that "lessened the danger of an uprising" versus the portrayal of the advancing Turkish forces as a threat that necessitated a "fresh ultimatum" (p. 217)—create a rigid linguistic binary. This binary consistently positions the British as the rational, moral guardians of the Near East, thereby recasting a military occupation as a humanitarian necessity that "checked the panicky flight of Christians." At the discursive-practice level (meso-level), these texts were produced and consumed within the specific gatekeeping institutional culture of The Toronto Daily Star, where Hemingway's role as the paper's primary European correspondent allowed his observations to be recontextualised as authoritative journalistic truths.

At the micro-level, Hemingway's discourse relies heavily on transitivity structures that strategically assign agency to reinforce these broader power dynamics. The British military is consistently positioned as the Agent in material processes (e.g., "British war units have lessened the danger," p. 216), depicting them as active, rational forces of order. Conversely, the local populations are cast either as the Goal of British protection or the Senser in mental processes of fear. This agency-loading rhetorically transforms a military occupation into a naturalized humanitarian necessity, linguistically stripping the local government of its ability to provide security. Consequently, Hemingway's role as the paper's primary European correspondent enabled these specific linguistic observations to be recontextualised as authoritative journalistic truths. Through the newspaper's progressive yet Eurocentric editorial lens, the complex reality of the Turkish struggle was filtered and simplified, effectively turning war reportage into a site for the reproduction of pro-Allied narratives. Finally, at the level of social practice (macro-level), this discourse functions as a powerful mechanism for the legitimisation of imperial intervention. By framing the British presence not as colonialism but as an ethical necessity, Hemingway's journalism aligns with the broader geopolitical interests of the post-WWI era, ultimately masking imperial power structures behind a rhetoric of humanitarian protection and marginalising the sovereign legitimacy of the Turkish National Movement.

The Rhetoric of Christian Victimhood

Hemingway often uses emotional descriptions of Christian suffering to highlight the contrast between religion and secularism. In "Christians Leave Thrace to Turks" (October 16, 1922), strong pathos is evident through words like tragedy, forced, exodus, framing the migration as a biblical disaster. Presenting the event as a cross yielding to a crescent creates a dichotomy of innocent Christian victims versus aggressive Muslim attackers, oversimplifying the complex realities of the population's movement.

This theme leads to the end, with the final theme coming on October 20, 1922, in a sorrowful, sad mood, titled "A Silent, Ghastly Procession." The use of the same words, such as silent, ghastly, staggering march, etc., cues up the picture of collective trauma vividly. Hemingway captures this harrowing scene with visceral detail:

> In a never-ending, staggering march, the Christian population of Eastern Thrace is jamming the roads toward Macedonia. The main column crossing the Maritza River at

> Adrianople is twenty miles long. Twenty miles of carts drawn by cows, bullocks and muddy-flanked water buffalo, with exhausted, staggering men, women and children, blankets over their heads, walking blindly along in the rain beside their worldly goods. (p. 232)

The suffering of the refugees is dehumanised; they are likened to cattle, and the Turkish forces are an unknown threatening presence. Equally, in "Refugees from Thrace" (November 14, 1922), the emphasis on the desperate flight and the lice-infested conditions functions in two ways: they put the displaced Christians in a humanising perspective but implicitly criticises the political transformation that made the Turks powerful. As Hemingway notes of the conditions in Adrianople:

> I found the station a mud hole crowded with soldiers, bundles, bedsprings, bedding, sewing machines, babies, broken carts, all in the mud and the drizzling rain. ... Shorty pulled off the other boot. "Say, boy, look at the film box." I looked at it. It was crawling with lice. (p. 251)

In these stories, Hemingway re-creates the Christian Victimhood discourse (McCarthy, 1995) in which the victimhood of the Other (Muslims) is reconstructed into non-existence in order to preserve the moral superiority of the West. This selective framing is a textbook illustration of what Van Dijk (1991) considers to be the ideological square that, based on the ideological square, functions by systematically underlining the victimhood of Christians/Westerners and, at the same time, conceals any information on the suffering of the other (Muslims), creating a moral one-sided reality.

The construction of Christian victimhood uses grammatical metaphors that adjectivise suffering to characterise the landscape. Phrases like "ghastly procession" and "panicky flight" (p. 232) shift focus from political causes of displacement to an atmospheric quality of the East. Nominalisation terms like "exodus" and "tragedy" obscure causality; turning complex human actions into static nouns erases the responsible actors, presenting the crisis as an inevitable disaster rather than a geopolitical outcome.

The Orientalist Gaze on Istanbul: Decay, Debasement, and Nostalgia

Hemingway's portrayal of Istanbul is based extensively on what Spurr (1993) calls debasement: the non-Western territory is synonymous with moral corruption to legitimise imperial intervention. In Constantinople, Dirty White, Not Glistening and Sinister (October 18, 1922), the author is disillusioned, and the romantic view of the East is replaced with a grim picture of a squalid, filthy, and sinister place. Hemingway explicitly shatters the cinematic myth of the city:

> From all I had ever seen in the movies Stamboul ought to have been white and glistening and sinister. Instead, the houses look like Heath Robinson drawings, dry as tinder, the colour of old beaten fence rails, and filled with little windows. Scattered through the town rise minarets. They look like dirty, white candles sticking up for no apparent reason. (p. 227)

This diction does not support the exoticised image of the city, as it is instead replaced with the image of decay and indicates that the city, and consequently, the Ottoman legacy, is rotting. Hemingway reinforces this squalid reality:

> Constantinople is dirty white, not glistening and sinister. It is a squalid, filthy, and sinister place... Everything white in Constantinople is dirty white. When you see the color a white shirt gets in twelve hours you appreciate the color a white minaret gets in four hundred years. (p. 228)

This story conforms to the Orientalist formula outlined by Edward Said (1978), which holds that the Orient is a fixed category of inferiority and backwardness, producing a binary contrast between the rational, clean West and the chaotic, dirty East.

In his portrayal of Istanbul, Hemingway utilizes attributive processes within the textual

dimension to fix the city's identity within a discourse of decay. By assigning derogatory epithets as inherent qualities (e.g., describing minarets as "dirty white candles," p. 227, or the city as a "squalid, filthy place," p. 228), he employs what Spurr (1993) calls "debasement." Linguistically, these are not presented as temporary conditions but as essentialized traits. This micro-level lexical choice reinforces the Orientalist binary of the clean West versus the inherently "soiled" East, justifying the need for external Western guidance.

This theme of natural disorder continues in Waiting for an Orgy (1922), where the Turkish army's arrival is seen not as liberation but as chaos. Words like riotous, cutthroats, and orgy evoke Victorian Orientalist stereotypes. Kabbani (1986) notes Western obsession with the fanatic Oriental, viewed as violent and uncontrollable. Hemingway frames the Turkish advance as a riotous orgy, reinforcing this stereotype and stripping the event of political significance, portraying it as barbarism.

The peace, even in the instances when it seems that there is calm, as in the case of Balkans: A Picture of Peace, Not War (October 16, 1922), is shown as a falsehood. Lastly, Old Constan (October 28, 1922) calls upon the memory of a former greatness (Old) to lament the decay of that greatness in favour of the present vice and disease, and the theme of Old East being lost under the banner of a new and threatening nationalism again makes the point. Hemingway contrasts the poetic "Magic" with the biting reality:

> In the morning when you wake and see a mist over the Golden Horn... you have the magic of the East. When you look from the window into the mirror and discover your face is covered with a mass of minute red speckles from the latest insect that discovered you last night, you have the East. There may be a happy medium between the East of Pierre Loti's stories and the East of everyday life, but it could only be found by a man who always looked with his eyes half-shut... (p. 240)

Viewed through Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, Hemingway's portrayal of Istanbul is not merely a physical observation but an instance of "social practice" (macro-level) that shapes the city's political future. At the textual level (micro-level), comparing minarets to "dirty candles" or identifying the city with "pests" employs what Spurr (1993) terms "debasement," thereby reinforcing the image of a city morally and physically "incapable of self-governance." At the level of discursive practice (meso-level), Hemingway establishes a tension between Pierre Loti's romanticised East and his own "realist" yet ideologically charged narrative, conveying to the Western reader that the city's "former glory" can only be preserved under Western guidance. This debasing discourse ultimately reduces the Turkish National Movement's ideal of establishing a modern and sovereign capital to the expectation of a "barbaric orgy," presenting the continuity of imperial control as a moral necessity.

Representation of Leadership and Strategy of Delegitimisation: "Kemal" vs "Mustapha Kemal"

The most significant ideological work, however, is performed through the representation of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Turkish Army. Table 3 presents a detailed critical discourse analysis of these specific terms.

Hemingway's use of modality and naming de-legitimises Turkish leadership. He often negates Mustapha Kemal's titles, using "Kemal" in 89% of cases, to undermine his authority. Hemingway also employs high epistemic modality when reporting rumours, such as claiming Kemal has shown himself as "Kemal the businessman" (p. 235). This use of categorical assertions presents gossip as objective truths, linguistically weakening the Turkish National Movement's sovereignty.

Table 3 Critical Discourse Analysis of the Terms "Mustapha Kemal Pasha" and "Turkish Army"

CDA Dimension	Lexical Evidence from Text	Analysis
Textual Analysis	"Kemal's note was considered decidedly hostile." (p. 217) "Turkish irregulars... bandits... advance guard." (p. 222) "...that bandit[1] Kemal..." (p. 231) "...fanatical patriots..." (p. 249)	Kemal Pasha is portrayed in dehumanising terms ("cold," "rigid"), emphasising authoritarianism over statesmanship. The recurrent use of derogatory nouns like **"bandit" (n=5)** and adjectives like **"fanatical" (n=2)** constructs the Turkish army not as a regular military force, but as an irrational insurgent group.
Discursive Practice	"...regarded as a new Saladin by the Muslim world." (p. 235) "...blaze that will start the holy war..." (p. 236) "...hand in glove with the Soviets." (p.233)	The text draws upon intertextual references to medieval crusades ("Saladin," **"holy war" [n=4]**) and modern geopolitical fears ("Soviets," "dangerous wedge"). This framing delegitimises the secular nationalist nature of the movement, recasting it as a religious threat to the West.
Social Practice	"Reign of terror," "Massacre of Christians"	These representations reinforce the "Civilised West vs. Barbaric East" binary. By framing the Turkish leadership as a threat to global stability, the discourse legitimises Western surveillance and diplomatic intervention.

Note Adapted from the corpus of The Toronto Daily Star dispatches (1922)

The quantitative study shows a striking, ideologically important trend in Hemingway's naming strategy. The proper title of Mustapha Kemal is used 8 times (n=8), but the bare name of Kemal is used 76 times (n=76). What is more importantly missing is the honorific "Pasha" title, which is part of his military status and social standing in the Ottoman system.

Although it could be said that addressing public figures by their surname is a common rule in Western journalism due to the need for brevity (i.e., economy in journalism), the given argument cannot be presented in the given situation when one considers the context. Hemingway also commonly gives names to the Western characters (e.g., "General Harington"), but does not give his Turkish leader. The rejection of his full title in this particular situation is what Spurr (1993) has called the discursive strategy of negation. The process of removing the title Pasha linguistically separates Mustapha Kemal from state power, turning a national leader into a tribal chieftain or an uprising warlord (p. 78). This naming and shaming approach produces a cognitive distance on the part of the reader, making the Turkish movement not a legitimate government-in-waiting, but a rogue movement.

This delegitimisation is further supported by the frequent collocation of the name Kemal with derogatory nouns, with bandit (n=5) being the most frequent. The decision is a perfect example of the notion of debasement as introduced by Spurr (1993), according to which the non-Western subject is linked to crime and chaos to legitimise Western intervention (p. 76). Hemingway makes the resistance a crime by identifying the leader of a national liberation army as a bandit. The binary thinking of the text is that in case Kemal is a bandit, the British forces are implicitly placed as the police, or the forces of order, and this ethically justifies their military occupation of Istanbul.

Finally, the linking of the Turkish army with such concepts as holy war (n=4), fanatical patriots, and the mention of Saladin serves a two-fold ideological function. It depersonalises the soldiers

[1] Here, Hemingway does not use the negative lexicalisation ("bandit") in his own narrative capacity; rather, he acts as a reporter, transferring the exact words of the Greek landlord. By mediating this embedded discourse, Hemingway provides a direct account of the polarising rhetoric on the ground, illustrating how the local population discursively criminalised the Kemalist movement.

first, depriving them of agency. According to Kabbani (1986), epithets such as "fanatic" are prominent tools of Orientalism that are employed to deprive the Eastern object of rationality and make him a subject of primitive religious motives rather than political enlightenment (p. 6). Second, by casting the Turkish war as a religious orgy or a Jihad, rather than as a civil war among countries to establish national sovereignty, Hemingway conforms his discourse to the Allied propaganda of the time. Framing of this kind feeds into the "Islam vs the West" fearmongering, so that the New Turkey is no longer conceived as a modern nation-state born out of the graveyard of empire, but rather as a relentless, irrational threat to Western civilisation.

When the twenty articles are evaluated holistically, a distinct stylistic and thematic evolution emerges, transitioning from immediate frontline reporting to a broader geopolitical commentary. Stylistically, these dispatches function as an early "laboratory" for Hemingway's later literary minimalism; his use of short, declarative sentences and vivid sensory imagery—such as the "muddy" retreat at Thrace—does more than just report; it creates a "reality effect" that lends an air of objective truth to what are essentially subjective, and often Orientalist, interpretations. The overarching narrative suggests that Hemingway's journalism during this period was not merely a collection of isolated reports but a cohesive discursive project. By systematically stripping the Turkish National Movement of its political nuances and reducing it to a series of visceral, often violent images, Hemingway's style effectively bridged the gap between traditional war reporting and the reinforcement of Western hegemonic narratives.

Concluding Remarks

This paper utilises the three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis by Norman Fairclough to analyse the 20 articles authored by Ernest Hemingway that address the Turkish War of Independence. The results indicate that the Hemingway journalism, which was widely praised as being of minimal objectivity, was actually heavily entrenched in the historical, political, and ideological trends of the early 20th century. Rather than being an outsider, Hemingway's discourse served as a space in which the Orientalist episteme of the time was replicated and naturalised.

The research, using textual analysis, uncovered how lexical constructions formed a binary opposition between Christian Victimhood and Turkish Barbarism. The heavy usage of emotionally loaded adjectives to describe the state of the Greek refugees (ghastly, helpless, etc.) was opposed to the derogatory view of the Turkish forces (bandits, fanatical, cutthroats). This biased compassion is a kind of example of the ideological square developed by Van Dijk when the suffering of the Other (the Turks) was made invisible. Although the tragedy of the refugees could not be underestimated, the context of the Greek occupation and the horrors they inflicted on Muslim civilians was conspicuously left outside the narrative by Hemingway, thus portraying a distorted reality that was beneficial to the Western geopolitical interests.

In the discursive practice, the analysis examined how Hemingway's texts relied on the hegemonic discourse of the Imperial. The systematic avoidance of the honorific Pasha and the bare use of the surname Kemal (n=76) was not only a stylistic device but also a negation strategy (Spurr, 1993). The text delegitimised the Turkish National Struggle by linguistically depriving Mustapha Kemal of the justifiable title and identification in terms of a bandit (n=5), shifting a struggle of independence into an irrational Eastern rebellion. This way of naming strengthened the colonial paranoia about the sovereignty of non-Western status and placed the Western reader into an attitude of moral superiority.

Lastly, at the social practice level, the paper situates these articles within the post-WWI world order of geopolitics. The portrayal of the Turkish army by Hemingway as a producer of chaos and the British army as saviours justified the occupation of Istanbul by the Allies. The discourse, by applying the terms of the Holy War (n=4) and fanaticism to the conflict, concealed the secular and nationalist character of the Turkish movement, thereby recreating the image of the Terrible Turk.

Conclusively, although Hemingway painted a graphic picture of the human tragedy of war through his prose, he could not escape the colouring of his Orientalist prejudice that permeated his journalistic writing. These articles, by Hemingway, concealed the Turkish perspective way down the iceberg, to enhance the surface story, which, as a writer, he himself would later gain great success with, deliberately omitting the situation underneath the narrative. His dispatches, therefore, stand as a strong reminder of how media discourse can create, rather than chronicle, historical reality, and reproduce, even in the name of objective reporting, a colonial hierarchy.

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Declaration of AI Use

Any AI-assisted tools, if used, were limited to language editing. No AI tools were used for data collection, analysis, or interpretation of findings. The author(s) assume sole responsibility for the originality, accuracy, and final content of the manuscript.

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